# HARDING OUTLINES PLANS FOR READJUSTMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

# **COLOMBIA TREATY**

Senator Opens Fight for Ratification as Desired by the President.

OBJECTIONS REMOVED

**Revision of Pact Eliminates** Features That Previously Held It Up.

AIDS AMERICAN OIL MEN

Example Also Important for Its Effect on Other Latin American Countries.

New York Herald Bureau, Washington, D. C., April 12. mator Lodge (Mass.), chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, today formally opened the fight in the enate for the ratification of the Colombian treaty, recommended by President Harding. The treaty will be kept before the Senate continuously until

taken by previous agreement. Senator Lodge, who signed a minority report of the Foreign Relations mittee in 1917 that called this s "blackmail" treaty, endeavored to-day in a long and carefully prepared speech to show why he now believes t should be ratified.

April 20, when the final vote will be

President Harding's message trans mitting the treaty to the Senate on March 9 was made public to-day. The

resident said in part:
"The early and favorable considera on of this treaty would be very helpful at the present time in promoting our friendly relationships. There have been many and long delays in dealing with this treaty until we have been made to seem unmindful, when in truth we have had no thought but to deal with this sister republic in a most cordini consideration. I believe the revised treaty to be a fair expression of our just and friendly relationship with the republic of Colombia, and I would rejoice to have our example in dealing with the republic of Colombia to be made an assurance of that promptness and firmness and justice which shall invite added confidence in our Government and a new regard for our own republic." seem unmindful, when in truth we have

#### Original Objections Overcome.

Original Objections Overcome.

The burden of Senator Lodge's argument was that the revised treaty overcomes objections to the original document and that it is important to obtain the good will of Colombia in order to insure adequate protection for the Panama Canal and because of the efforts of British interests to develop the Colombian oil fields while obstructions are thrown in the way of American oil development of these same fields. He said that President Roosevelt, during whose administration the republic of Panama sep rated from Colombia with the aid of the United States, ecognized the necessity of satisfying Colombia in some way for the loss of the territory through which the United States constructed the Panama Canal.

"I should never have assented under

structed the Panama Canal.

"I should never have assented under any circumstances to the treaty containing an apology, however worded." said Mr. Lodge. "That is removed from the amendee treaty by striking out article 1. Colombia's rights of transit have been modified by amendments, and the threats of hostility by uniting with Germany, of course, have been removed entirely by the passage of time and the course of events.

course of events.

"There remains the objection grounded on the amount of the money payment. I am frank to say that I consider the amount too great, but to bring about a settlement of this question I am ready to waive my objection on that point in order to secure better relations with Colombia and a settlement of the vexed question of recognition and of boundaries. An amendment has also been added in regard to the periods and been added in regard to the periods and mode of payment of the \$25,000,000, which, though not reducing the total amount, have a very considerable im-portance, in view of the future and in

portance, in view of the future and in giving us a certain control over the money to be paid.

"When Senator Stone brought the treaty in with a favorable report in 1917 he announced that he purposed to have a vote on it, whether the treaty was accepted or rejected, but after a short time he changed his mind., and the treaty was laid aside. I was invited soon afterward to have an invited soon afterward to have an inthe treaty was laid aside. I was invited soon afterward to have an interview with Mr. Lansing, and I called upon him and had a long conversation with him. I told him very frankly that the treaty in its present form could not possibly pass, but that I thought with certain amendments, in view of the importance of the interests involved, it might be adopted by the Senate, but the amendments were vital. Article I must be stricken from the treaty entirely and other changes must be made. These amendments were suggested by nese amendments were suggested by enator Knox, by Senator Root and by

#### Protecting American Interests. After telling of British oil interests Colombia Mr. Lodge continued:

in Colombia Mr. Lodge continued:

"If Americans are willing to put in large amounts of capital for the production of oil they are entitled to make money, and I hope they will. The Government will not be involved financially, but will simply be called upon to do what every other Government does and what we ought always to do-protect its citizens in their lawful trade in other countries. The indications are very strong that very large oil fields, perhaps the largest in the world, are on the point of development in Venezuela and oint of development in Venezuela and

"American companies have already started in Colombia, but they will pass into the hands of the powerful British combinations if our people cannot at least understand that they will be protected against wrong and injustee if they invest in countries other than their own for the purpose of furnishing the United States with oil and enlarging our compared."

"This is one of the important features of good relations with Colombia and with all Latin America, but particularly with those countries in the north where the oil fields are believed to lie. These are some of the arguments which see lag the importance of the United States being able to develop, under proper pro-tection, the oils fields of Colombia and other Latin American countries.

## LODGE ARGUES FOR HARDING ADDRESS COVERS HIS CAMPAIGN PLEDGES

Continued from First Page.

ness which turns to greed, but ever concerned with that productivity at home which is the source of all abiding good fortune. It is agreed that we cannot sell unless we buy, but ability to sell is based on home development and the fostering of home markets. There is little sentiment in the trade of the world. Trade can and ought to be honorable, but it knows no sympathy. While the delegates of the nations at war were debating peace terms at Paris, and delegates of the nations at war were debating peace terms at Paris, and while we later debated our part in completing the peace, commercial agents of other nations were opening their lines and establishing their outposts, with a forward look to the morrow's trade.

It was wholly proper, and has been advantageous to them. Tardy as we are, it will be safer to hold our own markets secure and build thereon for our trade with the world.

world.

A very important matter is the establishment of the Government's business on a business basis. There was toleration of the easy going, unsystematic method of handling our fiscal affairs when indirect taxation held the public unmindful of the Federal burden. But there is knowledge of the ligh cost of government to-day and the high cost of living its inseparably linked with high cost of government. There can be no complete correction of the high living cost until government's cost is notably reduced.

Let me most heartly commend the enactment of legislation providing for the national budget system. Congress has already recorded its belief in the budget. It will be a very great satisfaction to know of its early enactment, so that it

be a very great satisfaction to know of its early enactment, so that it may be employed in establishing the economies and business methods so essential to the minimum of expen-

I have said to the people we meant to have less of government in business as well as more business in government. It is well to have it understood that business has a right to pursue its normal, legitimate and righteous way unimpeded, and it cught have no call to meet Government competition where all risk is borne by the public treasury. There is no challenge to honest and lawful business success. But Government approval of fortunate, untrammelled business does not mean toleration of restraint of trade or of maintained prices by unnatural methods. It is well to have legitimate business understand that a just Government, mindful of the interests of all the people, has a right to expect the cooperation of that legitimate business in stamping out the practices which add to unrest and inspire restrictive legislation. Anxious as we are to restore the onward flow of business, it is fair to combine assurance and warning in one utterance. I have said to the people we meant

#### Defiation Fails to Hit Mark.

One condition in the business One condition in the business world may well receive your inquiry. Defiation has been in progress but has failed to reach the mark where it can be proclaimed to the great mass of consumers. Reduced cost of basic production has been recorded, but high cost of living has not yielded in like proportion. For example, the prices on grain and livestock have been deflated, but the cost of bread and meats is not adequately reflected therein. It is to be expected that non-perishable staples will be slow in yielding to lowered prices, but the maintained retail costs in perishable foods cannot be justified.

I have asked the Federal Trade Commission for a report of its observations, and it attributes, in the main, the failure to adjust consumers' cost to basic production costs to the exchange of information by "open price associations," which operate, evidently, within the law, to the very great advantage of their members and equal disadvantage to the consuming public. Without the spirit of hostility or haste in accusation of profiteering, some suitable inquiry by Congress might speed the price readjustment to normal relationship, with helpfulness of both producer and consumer. A measuring of of feir prices will satisfy

lationship, with helpfulness of both producer and consumer. A measuring rod of fair prices will satisfy the country and give us a business revival to end all depression and unemployment.

The great interest of both the producer and consumer—indeed, all our industrial and commercial life, from agriculture to finance—in the problems of transportation, will find its reflex in your concern to ald reestablishment, to restore efficiency and bring transportation cost into a helpful relationship rather than continue it as a hindrince to resumed activities.

thus it as a hindrince to resumed activities.

It is little to be wondered that ill-considered legislation, the war strain, Government operation in heedlessness of cost and the conflicting of programmes, or the lack of them, for restoration have brought about a most difficult situation, made doubly difficult by the low tide of business. All are so intimately related that no improvement will be permanent until the railways are operated efficiently at a cost within that which the traffic can bear.

If we can have it understood that Congress has no sanction for Gov-erament ownership, that Congress does not levy taxes upon the people to cover deficits in a service which should be self-sustaining, there will be an avowed foundation on which to rebuild.

#### Rail Rates Must Be Cut.

Freight carrying charges have mounted higher and higher until commerce is haited and production discouraged. Railway rates and costs of operation must be reduced.

costs of operation must be reduced.

Congress may well investigate and lee the public understand wherein our system and the Federal regulations are lacking in helpfulness or bindering in restrictions. The remaining obstacles which are the heritance of capitalistic exploitation must be removed and labor must join management in understanding that the public which pays is the public to be served and simple justice is the right and will continue to be the right of all the people.

Transportation over the highways is little less important, but the problems relate to conscruction and development and deserve your most earnest attention, because we are laying a foundation for a long time to come and the creation is very difficult to visualize in its great possibilities.

The highways are not only feeders

The highways are not only feeders to the railreads and afford relief. from their local burdens; they are actually lines of motor traffic in interstate commerce. They are the smaller arteries of the larger portion of our commerce, and the motor car has become an indispensable instrument in our political, social and industrial life. industrial life. There is begun a new era in high

way construction, the outlay for which runs far into hundreds of millions of dollars. Bond issues by road districts, openies and States

mount to enormous figures, and the country is facing such an outlay that it is vital that every effort shall be directed against washou exfort and unjustifiable expenditure.

The Federal Government can place no inhibition on the expenditure in the several States, but since Congress has embarked upon a policy of assisting the States in highway improvement, wisely. I believe, it can assert a wholly becoming influence in shaping policy.

With the principle of Federel participation acceptably established probably never to be abandoned, it is important to exert Federal influence in developing comprehensive

ence in developing comprehensive plans looking to the promotion of commerce and apply our expendi-tures in the surest way to guar-antee a public return for money ex-pended.

antee a public return for money expended.

Large Federal outlay demands a Federal volce in the programme of expenditure. Congress cannot justify a mere gift from the Federal purse to the several States, to be pro rated among counties for road betterment. Such a course will invite abuses which it were better to guard against in the besinning. The laws governing Federal ald should be amended and strengthened. The Federal agency of administration should be elevated to the importance and vested with authority comparable to the work before it. And Congress ought to prescribe conditions to Federal appropriations which will necessitate a consistent programme of uniformity which will justify the Federal outlay.

#### Waste in Highways.

Waste in Highways.

I know of nothing more shocking than the millions of public funds wasted in improved highways—wasted because there is no policy of maintenance. The neglect is not universal, but it is very near it. There is nothing the Congress can do more effectively to end this shocking waste than condition all Federal aid on provisions for maintenance. Highways, no matter how generous the outlay for construction, cannot be maintained without patrol and constant repair. Such conditions insisted upon in the grant of Federal aid will safeguard the public which pays and guards the Federal Government against political abuses, which tend to defeat the very purposes for which we authorize Federal expenditure.

Linked with rail and highway is the problem of water transportation—inland, coastwise and transceanic. It is not possible, on this occasion, to suggest to Congress the additional fesislation needful to meet the aspirations of our pepole for a merchant marine. In the emergency of war we have constructed a tonnage equalling our largest expectations. Its war cost must be discounted to the actual values of peace, and the large difference charged to the war emergency, and the pressing task is to turn our assets in tonnage to an agency of commerce.

It is not necessary to say it to

commerce.

It is not necessary to say it to Congress, but I have thought this to be a befitting occasion to give notice that the United States means to establish and maintain a great merchant marine.

"Our differences of onlyion as to

merchant marine.

"Our differences of opinion as to a policy of upbuilding have been removed by the outstanding fact of our having builded. If the intelligent and efficient administration under the existing laws makes established service impossible, the Executive will promptly report to you. Manifestly, if our laws governing American activities on the seas are such as to give advantage to those who compete with us for the carrying of our own cargoes and those which ought naturally come in American bottoms through trade exchanges, then the spirit of American fair play will assert itself to give American carriers their equality of opportunity.

### Cooperation in Shipping.

This republic can never realize its righteous aspirations in commerce, can never be worthy the traditions of the early days of the expanding republic until the millions of tons of shipping which we now possess are sipping which we now possess are coordinated with our inland transportation and our shipping has government encouragement, not government operation, in carrying our cargoes under our flag over regularly operated routes to every market in the world agreeable to American exchanges. It will strengthen American genius and management to have it understood that ours is an abiding determination, because carrying is second only to production in establishing and maintaining the flow of commerce to which we rightfully aspire.

flow of commerce to which we rightfully aspire.

It is proper to invite your attention to the importance of the question of radio communication and cables. To meet strategic, commercial and political needs active encouragement should be given to the extension of American owned and operated cable and radio services. Between the United States and its possessions there should be ample communication facilities, providing direct services at reasonable rates. Between the United States and other countries, not only should there be adequate facilities, but those should be se far as practicable direct and free from foreign intermediation.

Friendly cooperation should be extended to international efforts aimed at encouraging improvement of international communication facilities and designed to further the exchange of messages.

Private monopolies tending to prevent the development of needed facilities should be prohibited. Government owned facilities, wherever possible without unduly interfering with private enterprise or Government needs, should be made available for general uses. fully aspire.

### Cable and Radio Services.

Particularly desirable is the pro-vision of ample cable and radio ser-vices at reasonable rates for the transmission of press matter, so that the American reader may re-ceive a wide range of news, and the foreign reader receive full accounts of American activities. The daily press of all countries may well be put in position to contribute to in-ternational understandings by the publication of interesting foreign

publication of interesting foreign news.

Practical experience demonstrates the need for effective regulation of both domestic and international radio operation if this newer means of intercommunication is to be fully utilized. Especially needful is the provision of ample radio facilities for these services, where radio only can be used, such as communication with ships at sea with aircraft, and with out-of-the-way places.

International communication by cable and radio requires cooperation between the povers concerned. Whatever the degree of control deemed advisable within the United States. Government licensing of cable landings and of radio stations transmitting and receiving international traffic seems necessary for the protection of American inter-

ests and for the securing of satisfactory reciprocal privileges.

Aviation is inseparable from either the army or the navy, and the Government must, in the interests of national defence, encourage its development for military and civil nurposes.

its development for military and civil purposes.

The encouragement of the civil development of aeronautics is especially desirable as relieving the Government largely of the expense of development, and of maintenance of an industry, now almost entirely borne by the Government through appropriations for the military, navel and postal air services. The air mail service is an important

trary, navel and postal air services. The air mail service is an important initial step in the direction of commercial aviation.

It has become a pressing duty of the Federal Government to provide for the regulation of air navigation; otherwise independent and conflicting legislation will be enacted by the various States which will hamper the development of aviation. The national advisory committee for aeronautics in a special report on this subject has recommended the establishment of a bureau of aeronautics in the Department of Commerce for the Federal regulation of air navigation, which recommendation ought to have legislative approval.

#### Navy Air Bureau Urged.

I recommend the enactment of legislation establishing a bureau of aeronautics in the Navy Department to centralize the control of naval activities in aeronautics, and removing the restrictions on the personnel detailed to aviation in the

The army air service should be centinued as a coordinate combatant branch of the army, and its existing organization utilized in cooperation with other agencies of the Government in the establishment of national transcontinental airways and in cooperation with the States in the establishment of local airdremes and landing fields.

The American people expect Congress unfallingly to voice the gratitude of the Republic in a generous and practical way to its defenders in the world war, who need the supporting arm of the Government. Our very immediate concern is for the crippled soldiers and those deeply needing the helping hand of government. Conscious of the generous intent of Congress and the public concern for the crippled and dependent, I invited the services of a volunteer committee to inquire into the administration of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, the Federal Board of Vocational Training and other agencies of government in caring for the ex-soldiers, sallors and marines of the world war. This committee promptly reported the chief difficulty to be the imperfect organization of governmental effort, the time lack of coordination which indeers Government efficiency in many undertakings, less noticed because the need for prompt service is less appealing.

This committee has recommended, and I convey the recommended, and I convey the recommendations to you with cordial approval, that all Government agencies looking to these disabled saviors of our civilization and freedom may have the most efficient direction. It may be well to make such an official the Director General of Service to War Veterans and place under his direction all hospitalization, vocational training, war insurance, rehabilitation and all pensions.

The immediate extension and utilization of the Government's hospital facilities in the army and navy will bring relief to the acute conditions most complained of, and the hospital building programmem as he worked out to meet the needs likely to be urgent at the time of needs likely to be urgent at t

may be worked out to meet the needs likely to be urgent at the time of possible completion.

The whole programme requires the best thoughtful attention of Congress, for we are embarking on the performance of a sacred obligation which involves the expenditure of billions in the half century before us. Congress must perfect the policy of generous gratitude and conscientious administration must stamp out abuses in the very beginning. We must strengthen rather than weaken the moral fibre of the beneficiaries, and humanize all efforts ficiaries, and humanize all efforts so that rehabilitation shall be at-tended by respiritualization.

Welfare Department Favored. During the recent political can-vass the proposal was made that a department of public welfare should be created. It was indorsed and commended so strongly that I venture to call it to your attention and to suggest favorable legislative consideration.

venture to call it to your attention and to suggest favorable legislative consideration.

The Government's obligation affirmatively to encourage development of the highest and most-efficient type of citizenship is modernly accepted almost universally. Government rests upon the body of citizenship: it cannot maintain itself on a level that keeps it out of touch and understanding with the community it serves.

Enlightened Governments everywhere recognize this and are giving their recognition effect in policies and programmes. Certainly no Government is more desirous than our own to reflect the human attitude, the purpose of making better citizens—physically, intellectually, spiritually. To this end I am convinced that such a department in the Government would be of real value. It could be made to crystallize much of rather vague generalization about social justice inte solid accemulishcould be made to crystallize much of rather vague generalization about social justice into solid accomplish-ment. Events of recent years have profoundly impressed thinking peo-ple with the need to recognize new social forces and evolutions, to equip our citizens for dealing rightly with problems of life and social order.

In the realms of education, public health, sanitation, conditions of workers in industry, child welfare, proper amusement and recreation, the elimination of social vice and many other subjects, the Government has already undertaken a considerable range of activities. I assume the maternity bill, siready strongly approved, will be enacted promptly, thus adding to our manifestation of human interest. But these understandings have been scattered through many departments and bureaus without coordination and with much overlapping of functions which fritter energies and magnify the cost. Many subjects of the greatest importance are handled by bureaus within Government departments which logically have no apparent relation to them.

Other subjects which might well have the earnest consideration of Federal authority have been neglected or inadequately provided for. To bring these various activities together in a single department where the whole field could be surveyed and where their interrelationships could be properly appraised would make for increased effectiveness, economy and intelligence of direction. In the realms of education, pub-

#### To Respect State Rights.

In creating such a department it should be made plain that there is no purpose to invade fields which the States have occupied. In respect of education, for example, control as a administration have rested with the States, yet the Federal Government

has always aided them. National appropriations in aid of educational purposes the last fiscal year were no less than \$65,000,000. There need no less than \$65,000,000. There need be no fear of undue certralization or of creating a Federal bureaucracy to dominate affairs better to be left in State control. We must, of course, avoid overlapping the activities by the several States, and we must ever resist the growing demand on the Federal treasury for the performance of service for which the State is obligated to its citizenship.

Somewhat related to the foregoing human problems is the race question. Congress ought to wipe the stain of barbaric lynching from the banners of a free and orderly representative democracy. We face the fact that many millions of people of African descent are numbered

ple of African descent are numbered among our population and that in a number of States they constitute a very large proportion of the total

number of States they constitute a population.

It is unnecessary to recount the difficulties incident to the condition, nor to emphasize the fact that it is a condition which cannot be removed. There has been suggestion, however, that some of its difficulties might be ancilorated by a humane and enlightened consideration of it, a study of its many aspects and an effort to formulate, if not a policy, at least a national attitude of mind calculated to bring about the most satisfactory possible adjustment of relations between the races, and of each race to the national life. One proposal is the creation of a commission embracing representatives of both races, to study and report on the entire subject. The proposal has real merit. I am convinced that in mutual tolerance, understanding, charity, recognition of the interdependence of the races, and the maintenance of the races, and the maintenance of the rights of citizenship lies the road to right-cous adjustment.

It is needless to call your attention to the unfinished business inherited from the preceding Congress. The appropriation bills for army and navy will have your early consideration.

Neither branch of the Government can be unmindful of the call

navy will have your early consideration.

Neither branch of the Government can be unmindful of the call for reduced expenditure for these departments of our national defences. Our Government is in accord with the wish to eliminate the burdens of heavy armaments. The United States ever will be in harmony with such a movement toward the higher attainments of peace. But we shall not entirely discard our agencies for defence until there is removed the need to defend. We are ready to cooperate with other nations to approximate disarmament, but merest prudence forbids that we disarm alone.

#### No Threat in Navy Plans.

The naval programme, which had its beginning in what seemed the highest assurances of peace, can carry no threat after the latest proof of our national unselfishness. The reasonable limitation of personnel may be combined with economies of administration to lift the burdens of excessive auties.

sonnel may be combined with economies of administration to lift the burdens of excessive outlay.

The War Department is reducing the personnel of the army from the maximum provided by law in June, 1920, to the minimum directed by Congress in a subsequent enactment. When further reduction is compatible with national security it may well have the sanction of Congress, so that a system of voluntary military training may offer to our young manhood the advantages of physical development, discipline and commitment to service, and constitute the army reserve in return for the training.

Nearly two and a half years ago the world war came to an end and yet we find ourselves to-day in the technical state of war, though actually at peace, while Europe is at technical peace, far from tranquillity and little progress toward the hoped for restoration.

It ill becomes us to express impatience that the European belligerents are not yet in full agreement, when we ourselves have been unable to bring constituted authority into

erents are not yet in full agreement, when we ourselves have been unable to bring constituted authority into accord in our own relations to the formally proclaimed peace.

Little avails in reciting the causes of delay in Europe or our own fallure to agree. But there is no longer excuse for uncertainties respecting some phases of our foreign relationship. In the existing League of Nations, world-governing with its super-powers, this republic will have super-powers, this republic will have no part. There can be no misinter-pretation, and there will be no be-trayal of the deliberate expression of the American people in the recent election, and settled in our decision; for ourselves it is only fair to say to the world in general and to our associates in war in particular that the league covenant can have no sanction by us.

The aim to associate nations to

The aim to associate nations to prevent war, preserve peace and promote civilization our people most cordially applauded. We yearned for this new instrument of justice, but we can have no part in a committal to an agency of force in unknown contingencies; we can recognize no super-authority.

Manifestly the highest purpose of the League of Nations was defeated the League of Nations was defeated in linking it with the treaty of peace and making it the enforcing agency of the victors of the world. International association for permanent peace must be conceived solely as an instrumentality of justice, unassociated with the passions of yeaterday, and not so constituted as to attempt the dual functions of a political instrument of the conquerors and of an agency of peace. There can be no prosperity for the fundamental purposes sought to be

can be no prosperity for the fundamental purposes sought to be
achieved by any such association so
long as it is an organ of any particular treaty, or committed to the
attainment of the special aims of
any nation or group of nations.

The American aspiration, indeed
the world aspiration, was an association of nations based upon
the application of justice and right,
binding us in conference and cooperation for the prevention of war
and pointing the way to a higher
elvilization and international fraternity in which all the world
might share.

elvilization and international fraterrity in which all the world
might share.

In rejecting the league covenant
and uttering that rejection to our
own people, and to the world, we
make no surrender of our hope and
aim for an association to promote
peace, in which we would most
heartly join. We wish it to be conceived in peace and dedicated to
peace, and will relinquish no effort
to bring the nations of the world
into such fellowship, not in the surrender of national sovereignty, but
rejoicing in a nobler exercise of it
in the advancement of human activities, amid the compensations of
peaceful achievements.

In the national referendum to
which I have adverted we pledged
our efforts toward such association
and the pledge will be faithfully
kept. In the plight of policy and
performance we told the American
people we meant to seek an early
establishment of peace.

The United States alone among
the ailled and associated Powers
continues in a technical state of war
against the Central Powers of Europe. This anomalous condition
ought not to be permitted to con-

rope. This anomalous condition ought not to be permitted to con-tinue. To establish the state of

technical peace without further de-lay I should approve a declaratory resolution by Congress to that effect, with the qualifications essential to protect all our rights. Such action would be the simplest keeping of faith with ourselves, and could in no sense be construed as a desertion of those with whom we shared our sac-rifices in war, for these Powers are already at peace.

#### Merely to Declare Peace.

Such a resolution should undertake to do no more than thus to declare the state of peace, which all America craves. It must add no difficulty in effecting, with just reparations, the restoration for which all Europe yearns and upon which the world's recovery must be founded. Neither former enemy nor ally can mistake America's position, because our attitude as to responsibility for the war and the necessity for just reparations already has had formal and very earnest expression.

had formal and very earnest expression.

It would be unwise to undertake to make a statement of future policy with respect to European affairs in such declaration of a state of peace. In correcting the failure of the executive in negotiating the most important treaty in the history of the nation to recognize the constitutional powers of the Senate we would go to the other extreme, equally objectionable, if Congress or the Senate should assume the function of the executive. Our highest duty is the preservation of the constituted powers of each and the promotion of the spirit of cooperation so essential to our common welfare. It would be idle to declare for separate treaties of peace with the Central Powers on the assumption that these alone would be adequate, because the situation is so involved that our peace engagements cannot ignore the Old World relationships and settlements already effected, nor is it desirable to do so in preserving our own rights and contracting our future relationships.

The wiser course would seem to be the executives of the confirma-

our own rights and contracting out future relationships.

The wiser course would seem to be the acceptance of the confirmation of our rights and interests as already provided and to engage under the existing treaty, assuming of course that this can be satisfactorily accomplished by such explicit reservations and modifications as will secure our absolute freedom from inadvisable commitments and safeguard all our essential interests. Neither Congress nor the people needs my assurance that a request to negotiate needed treaties of peace would be as superfluous and unnecessary as it is technically ineffective, and I know in my own heart there is none who would wish to embarrass the Executive in the performance of his duty when we are all so eager to turn disappointment and delay into gratifying accumplishment.

#### Life of Nations Involved.

Problems relating to our foreign relations bear upon the present and the future, and are of such
a nature that the all important
future must be deliberately considered, with greater concern than
mere immediate relief from unhappy conditions. We have witnessed, yea, we have participated in
the supremely tragic episode of war,
but our deeper concern is in the
continuing life of nations and the
development of civilization.
We must not allow our vision to
be impaired by the conflict among
ourselves. The weariness at home
and the disappointment to the world
have been compensated in the proof
that this republic will surrender none
of the heritage of national relationship have to be asserted; they require establishment in compacts of
amity; our part in readjustment
and restoration cannot be ignored,
and must be defined.

With the supergoverning league
definitely rejected and with the

and restoration cannot be ignored, and must be defined.

With the supergoverning league definitely rejected and with the world so informed, and with the status of peace proclaimed at home, we may proceed to negotiate the covenanted relationships so essential to the recognition of all the rights everywhere of our own nation and play our full part in joining the peoples of the world in the pursuits of peace once more.

Our obligations in effecting European tranquillity, because of war's involvements, are not less impelling than our part in the war itself. This restoration must be wrought before the human procession can go onward again. We can be helpful because we are moved by no hatsels and hereas of any series.

go onward again. We can be help-ful because we are moved by no hatreds and harbor no fears. Help-fulness does not mean entangle-ment, and participation in economic adjustments does not mean sponsor-ship for treaty commitments which do not concern us, and in which we will have no part.

#### To Seek Senate's Advice.

In an all impelling wish to do the most and best for our own republic and to maintain its high place among nations and at the same time make the fullest offering of justice to them. I shall invite in the most practical way the advice of the Senate, after acquainting it with all the conditions to be met and obligations to be discharged, along with our own rights to be safeguarded. Prudence in making the pro-

Prudence in making the pro-gramme and confident cooperation in making it effective cannot lead us far astray. We can render no effective service to humanity until we prove anew our capacity for cooperation, in the coordination of

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Wall Street, however, is still disposed Wall Street, nowever, is still disposed to look for deeds rather than words, and financiers were loath to discuss any feature of the address. It was recognized that the Harding Administration is confronted with complex problems which will require time before construc-

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